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583 suppose they never did?' they seemed to think that in such a case the match would be declared off, but no one had ever heard of such a thing happening. As there is a considerable number of people who can be applied to for contributions, such a contingency, if it does occur, is probably rare.

When she has collected enough currency the boy's mother sends word to the girl's mother and fixes a time to go and pay it, some days ahead. A man goes to take this message; apparently any man who is willing to undertake the journey may do so. The girl's mother prepares a feast, which must include pig. If the girl is a commoner there need not be much pig-meat, but for a girl *tsunaun* many pigs must be provided.

[824] The boy's mother and her brother, and also the boy's father, count up the strings of *imun*, and rub the teeth with the cut stalks [531] of the plant *rurupari* to clean them. They rub fresh *oin* over the strings that hold the teeth together, and put the *imun* into a pot with more *oin*. When the cleaning is finished, the slit-gong is beaten as many times as there are strings of currency, both *imun* and *beroan*. This is done the day before the visit of payment is made.

583 276 The next day the boy's mother, accompanied by many of the people of her village, goes to the girl's village. They do not go right up to it at first, but sit down beside the path near the village and wait. Meanwhile, the girl's mother skins a large quantity of areca-nuts and fills up a *kōbū* with them, she pours powdered lime over them and puts pepper-stick on top of them. Then she puts into the *kōbū* one string of *imun* and one string of *beroan*, which she must give to the boy's mother and mother's brother. This is said to be 'to pay for the boy'.

[602] Then those relatives of the girl who will henceforward stand to the man in the relation of *tauwē* (i.e. her brothers, both blood and classificatory), go and carry the *kōbū* full of areca-nuts to the people who are waiting on the road. All those who will henceforward be *waris* to the boy (his wife's parents, and all those to whom she applies the same relationship terms) remain in the hut belonging to the girl's mother; they all put on hoods—even the men must put on the women's hoods for a short time. They stay in the hut until the *tauwē* come back with the *kōbū*, from which the boy's relatives have taken out the *imun* and *beroan* and as many of the areca-nuts as they require. If there are a number in the party they may take them all.

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here described as nearly as I could ascertain in the order in which they would be performed.

1. *At birth.*

While a woman *tsunaun* is in labour, every one in the village abstains from food. As soon as the child is born, the slit-gong is beaten, and a feast is held, with food provided by the child's relatives. Any one connected with the child, both on its mother's and its father's side, will contribute food, and the more food provided the greater is the prestige. The food is distributed among the people of the village, and there is a *kōma* that night. For the birth of a commoner there is no general fasting, no slit-gong, no feast, and no *kōma*.

2. *At first washing.*

All the people of the village, both men and women, must abstain from eating pig and fish till the child is washed on the fifth day. Then a pig is killed, and cooked in a pot, not roasted as is the general method of cooking pigs for feasts. All the women prepare large quantities of taro. A fire is made, small pieces of taro, pig, and fish are placed in the fire, and the *urar* of all the important people of the child's clan, not only those who died long since, but also those who have not long been dead, are called upon by name, with the adjuration:

'*Komu tsura, nom en a tamū, a ta gū, a ta ien, sa*
Here is fire, you eat taro, pig, fish, so that
naban en sas ta ta ien to babēn ner, a ta gū mē.'
the people (may) eat again fish forbidden, pig also.

The *urar* hear this; they come and eat what has been burned. This lifts the taboo on eating flesh foods for the people of the village and for the child's relatives, except its parents.

3. *In the early days.*

'While it is still a new baby', there is a ceremony involving those of its relatives who stand to the child in the relationship called *watʃitʃio*, in particular its mother's mother's brother's daughters. The men of the village go out on to the reef and catch a number of the tiny fish called *karios*. These are about the size of a large minnow, and are usually regarded as not worth catching, except by small children for fun. They are brought to the child's hut,

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where they are carefully wrapped up in leaves, one *karios* in each package. The women cook some taro and cut it into very small pieces. Little baskets made of plaited coco-nut leaves are prepared, and are filled with these small pieces of taro. On the top of each basket is put a package containing *karios*, the relish. Each of the women who are *watʃitʃio* to the child then receives one of these baskets, and must eat the contents sitting on the *tagoan*, the front or men's verandah, if the child is a boy, on the *babots*, the back or women's verandah, if it is a girl. They may, if they wish, send some of the food to other women, who do not, however, partake of it in their company. But all the small children of the village, who come crowding round, are given some *karios* and taro. Then a small enclosure is prepared, on the women's side of the huts, in any convenient vacant spot. It is made of small logs. They explained that it was the same sort of enclosure as they make to keep wild pigs caught in preparation for a feast, which is made of logs piled up one on top of another. Into this enclosed space must be thrown all the taro peelings and other remains of the little feast, and the baskets in which taro and *karios* had been placed, which must first be torn to pieces. After this time the child's excreta must be thrown into this enclosure, until it can walk. It is too dangerous to throw them away into the bush as is done with those of a commoner, since some ill-disposed person might find them and use them to the child's harm.

4. *For first coming outside hut.*

As was previously stated, in the case of persons who are *tsunaun*, mother and child must remain inside the hut for ten days after birth instead of the five prescribed for a commoner. On the ninth day a palisade is erected round the hut, making a little enclosure. Next day the child is brought out, coming first into this enclosure. Then all the women of the village sit down with their legs touching (*asaran paror a gutan*, legs are fixed together), in the same position as is used in the marriage ceremony. The line of women stretches between the hut in which the child was born and the shore. Then a man, who may be one of the child's grandfathers, of either clan, or may be no relation, takes up the child and walks with it over the outstretched legs of the women to the beach. If there are not enough women in the village to reach so far, those at the back get up and go and sit down again in front of the line when the child

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The next day was entirely uneventful. Wanias played about as usual, and there was no dancing or any other ritual.

On the following day there was great activity in preparation for the evening's events. Four pigs were killed in the early morning, and cooked in the usual manner. One had been killed some days before, and partly smoked, and another was cooked at a house some distance from the village, making six in all, each worth, to the natives, the equivalent of anything from £5 to £10 in our money, this indicating that the occasion was one of considerable importance.

Just before sundown Wanias was arrayed in several lengths of shell currency, which were wound round and round his waist. The ornamented hood was again laid over the two large taro plants, which now had black and red stripes painted on them. Behind, hanging from the roof of the hut, were two lengths of the most highly prized kind of ceremonial currency (*imun*), one made of the teeth of the flying fox, the other of porpoise teeth. This latter string was an heirloom of great value. To it was fastened a tooth of Pinari's (Wanias's mother's mother's brother) which had recently fallen out; a toe from the foot of Kakari (Wanias's mother's brother) which fell off a short time before as the result of a bad septic sore; and the little finger of a famous enemy.[1] Wanias was seated on the hood with these relics behind him. His hair was newly painted, red all over except for two dabs of black, one over each ear. All the other small children of the village were painted in the same manner.

The women began walking round as before, with the usual yells (*waki*). Presently Pesē hoisted Wanias on to the ceremonial pack which she carried, and went round with him seated on it. This is noteworthy, because, since she stands to him in the relation of *watʃitʃio*, in the ordinary way no physical contact is permitted between them. All his maternal relatives then started a ceremonial wailing, as for the dead. Matēv, his maternal grandmother, and her

[1] The story of this little finger is as follows: Sapia, a warrior of the Habon people who live in the hills, killed Bururuk, a *tsunaun* of the coast, cut off his finger and his mouth and took them back to the hills with him. The coast people killed Sapia in the bush. Mawon, a relative of Sapia, avenged him by killing some of the coast people. Ten men from coastal villages went and lay in wait for Mawon, who was eventually killed by Na'uston, Pinari's *tsoa* (mother's brother). Mawon was eaten, but Na'uston kept his little finger, in revenge for the similar insult to Bururuk, Na'uston's *kiar* ('brother'), and this is the relic that now hangs on the string of ceremonial currency.

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brother and sister, wailed loudest and most earnestly. Subsequent inquiry elicited the explanation that they were wailing because they were sorry for Wanias, who, being a *tsunaun*, and as such an object of envy, will probably fall a victim to 'poison' prepared by some one who is jealous of him. 852 565 602

The women walked round for some time, Pesē still carrying Wanias on the pack. Some were wailing the death wail, some were howling, and some yelling, as for a dance, with the slit-gong adding to the general din. Wanias was frightened, as well he might be, and began to cry. After a time his mother took him away to the women's side of the village and quieted him at the breast. Then all the women received baskets containing pig and ceremonial pudding, which they carried off with them to their own huts. The visitors from other villages departed laden with food and areca-nuts. Later there was a *kōma* which went on till well after sunrise. 852 565 574

The next day Wanias was taken to the taro garden sitting on his mother's pack in the usual manner of children. He continued to wear the strings of *beroan* round his waist for some time. 852 565

This brings the little *tsunaun* to the point where he ceases to be a baby. His further fortunes will be followed in the next chapter.

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VII

ADOLESCENT GIRLS

GIRL'S LIFE DURING ADOLESCENCE

882 291 THERE is no sharp break in the life of a girl, corresponding to that which faces a boy when he puts on the *npi*.[1] No ceremony imposes upon her any sudden burden of taboos and regulations. There seems to be no hard-and-fast rule as regards the age at which she begins wearing the woman's hood. Owing to the ramifications of the classificatory system of relationships, even quite small girls are liable to have relatives who come under the term *waris* (son-in-law), from whose sight they are technically supposed to shield themselves by means of the hood. Most little girls possess one, and wear it on ceremonial occasions. But, in practice, the rule of avoidance is rigidly enforced only between the woman and the husband of her own daughter, or of her sister's daughter, after the final marriage ceremony, so that it does not bear heavily upon a girl during her adolescence. Similarly, so far as I could learn, there was never any great stress laid on the time of putting on the girdle and bunch of leaves which was the only wear of the women prior to the adoption of the loin-cloth. A girl wore this girdle as a matter of course after she had experienced her first menstrual flux, but could begin earlier if she liked. But it may be that a custom long fallen into disuse may have been forgotten by, or even unknown to, those with whom I discussed this question. Nowadays, when even quite tiny children are often to be seen wearing loin-cloths, it seems to be a matter of their parents' or their own personal preference. [602]

882 591 A girl's first ordeal comes when she must go for the first time to stay with her prospective husband's people, almost invariably in another, if perhaps not always far distant, village. This takes place long before she arrives at the age of puberty. After the first, which, as one would expect, seems always to be difficult, most girls, I think, regard these visits with complaisance, or at worst with indifference, though perhaps seldom with any degree of positive pleasure. The tenor of their lives runs in much the same grooves as before; they work in the gardens, fetch firewood and water, and

[1] [errata, should be upi. – Analyst] [p. 248]

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sáksak	wooden beater.
ráko	round flat stone used to beat on. (*Rako* is the generic term for 'stone'.)
katsibélo	shell resembling a cockle, used to scratch the pattern on the rim of the pot.

Operations.

tápo	knead ball of mixture of *petako* and *memia*.
pósala	hollow out ball of mixture with hand and *rako* to make bottom of pot.
bŏnŏna	put on a coil of clay round the edge of an unfinished pot.
sak	beat down the coil with *saksak* and *rako*.
sáki	smooth over with wet hand.
katahamátsko	(lit. 'make good') pinch off bits of the edge to make it even after putting on the last coil.
nŏnoa	put on the ornamentation round the edge.
tíntin	fire the pot.

Women's hoods

The hoods (*tō* or *dʒílō* in the Petats dialect, *tákop* in the Kurtatchi dialect) are worn by the women of Buka and the north coast of Bougainville (but not on either east or west coasts of that island) in accordance with the rule of avoidance of the relative called *halis* in the Petats dialect and *waris* in the Kurtatchi dialect, i.e. the husband of a daughter or a sister's daughter, and his brothers (see p. 73). The women carry their hoods with them whenever there is the least chance of coming across one of these taboo relatives, and put them on at his approach. They are worn in any case on all special occasions, such as a ceremonial visit or a ceremonial *kōma*. The women also find the hoods useful to keep off rain or the heat of the sun, and are careful to protect the heads of the babies they carry on their backs while working. When not in use, the hoods are folded up along the joins of the leaves of which they are made. To put on the hood is *uwa takop*.

The hoods are made of pandanus leaves. The strong mid-rib is first stripped off, and the prickly outer edge of the leaf is cut away with a knife made of the black-lip oyster shell. The leaves are then left for a little while to dry in the sun. The next process is to rub them with sand very thoroughly, to clean and smooth them. They are then rolled up tightly and laid on the ground, where they unroll a little. There they remain till thoroughly dry, being turned over

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because the Tabut people were sorry for the *ruanbē* (husband's parents) of Moras, the sister of the dead boys, and were not reward for the ritual weeping. Parties of women sometimes go to watch by a sick person; they will be given areca-nut and coco-nuts, some of which they will eat as they sit there; what remains will be carried home when they leave.

When guests are invited from distant villages to attend a ceremony it is customary to provide spreads of food, placed on platforms at intervals in the bush along the route, with which they can refresh themselves during the journey (*taran in a ken* means to prepare a spread of this kind). When we walked to the hill country to attend the *wapi* ceremony we came to three such places of refreshment. They took the form of a platform made of boughs, on which was placed a number of baskets made of coco-nut palm leaves plaited containing pieces of roast pig and boiled taros; others filled with the eggs of the megapode, almost ready to hatch, cooked and done up in leaves. There were also large packets of ceremonial pudding. Huge bunches of areca-nuts, yellow and green, hung from the posts of the platform, together with bundles of betel-pepper. Guests were supposed to provide their own lime. All along the edge of the platform were hung rows of coco-nuts. The effect was most lavish. We were also plentifully supplied with similar food at the ceremony itself, consuming it in the intervals of waiting. Such displays are not entirely prompted by generosity, or even the desire to make a show, since it is the custom, when guests think that the food provided for them is inadequate, to take revenge by wrecking their hosts' plantations, breaking down their coco-nut and areca palms, and spearing their pigs. It is said that in the olden days the angry guests even went so far as to burn the village and kill many of the inhabitants, including women and children. But, on the other hand, ostentatious display of wealth by single individuals is avoided for fear of 'poison'. They say that if a man prepares a very lavish feast, all the men who know how to make poison say: 'This fellow has made a big feast, we must kill him.' 'They are angry with the man who has done so well at getting food and so they make him die with their bad medicine.'

GIFTS

People are entitled to ask for areca-nuts, coco-nuts, &c., from those who stand to them in the relation of *kiar* (sibling of the same

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sex). This applies also to the extension of that relationship beyond the scope of the blood tie as it appears in genealogies (this is discussed on p. 33). No direct payment is offered or expected in such a case, but the recipient is, of course, liable to be called upon in his turn.

Apart from this, the native expects neither to give nor to receive 'something for nothing', unless it be a smouldering ember, which corresponds to our asking for a match.

An exception to this occurs in the case of plantation labourers returning from their three years of service. A certain proportion of their earnings is paid to them as a lump sum at the end of their 'time', and this they usually expend on knives, mouth-organs, and such other trifles as their hearts delight in. But as soon as they return to their own village, friends and relations crowd around, expecting the treasures to be divided amongst them, so that very soon the unfortunate owner has little to show for his labour except the memory of having been for a brief moment the hero of the village.

RECIPROCAL EXCHANGES

There are many occasions on which a presentation of some article, usually a package of ceremonial pudding, is reciprocated by the return, at some future, but not too far distant, time, of a precisely similar article. It would be a gross breach of etiquette to omit to 'back' such a gift in appropriate fashion. When we went to meet the women of Baniu to trade with them for good taro stalks for planting, we took with us some large packets of ceremonial pudding to give to one of them in return for some that had been given on the occasion of Muben's marriage to Kakari several months before.

PROPERTY

Land.

The land belongs to the village group. But the rights in it are vested in the *tsunaun tʃan*, the man of greatest importance in the village or group of hamlets. He may sell it, either to other natives or to white men, but in practice he would consult the older men of the village before arranging such a transaction. No such deal went through during my residence, and I have no details of prices or media of payment.[1] Pinari had a grudge against Karabun, the

[1] The District Officer now supervises all buying of land by white people from natives, and adjudicates over the price, which is paid in money. Some of the

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she must buy it, paying in any commodity that happens to be available. But when a big feast, such as the *watawutʃ*, is held, each must contribute to the common stock for the entertainment of the vast crowds of visitors who will arrive for the occasion.

Portions of land are allotted by the *tsunaun* to any one who wishes to plant coco-nut palms.[1] These trees are then his personal property, and no one would take nuts from them without his consent, except such near relatives as children, or brothers and sisters, both blood and classificatory. However thirsty a man may be while on a journey, he would not think of climbing a coco-nut palm to shake down nuts, unless he came to a grove to whose owner he stood in such relationship.

Ownership is also recognized in certain trees, such as those used for making dug-out canoes, or those valued for their fruit, such as the canarium almond. It may be established by planting the tree, or inherited from a relative who planted. These trees will be on land which, though vested in the *tsunaun*, and said to 'belong to' him, is used by the whole group, as explained in a previous paragraph, so that the ownership of trees is differentiated from the ownership of the land they stand on. To a great extent it is true here, as is described by Thurnwald at Buin (1912, p. 34), that property is connected chiefly with the results of work.

Pigs.

Pigs rank as property next in importance to strings of *imun* and above *beroan*. They are entirely personal possessions, and may be owned by anybody, man, woman, or child. A man with no pigs is regarded as poor, but there is nothing to prevent him from gaining prestige in the village by other means. Sobak, one of the prominent rain-makers of Kurtatchi, had no pigs, and though this was sometimes the subject of rather jeering comment, it did not prevent him from receiving a certain amount of deference in view of his skill at rain-making. But a man without pigs is debarred from certain privileges. For example, only a man who can produce ten pigs may build a *tobar* (boys' house), and those wishing to make use of this *tobar* pay a pig to the owner, except the boys wearing the *upi*, who are exempt.

Each person knows his own pigs individually, treats them as

[1] The Government has now instituted a rule that every man must plant ten coco-nut palms for each of his children at birth.

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is this *urar*?' 'I don't know where he is.' 'All right, by and by we will all go and paddle.' Another day some of the other people saw the *urar*, they saw him turn into a shark and into a *kitat5*; then they knew that what the man had told them was true.

My attention was first drawn to these transformations of *urar* into animals in connexion with discussions on death, and it is quite clear that this power is ascribed to the ghosts of people who have died and become *urar*. But while listening to tales dealing with similar transformations in the course of an evening's story-telling, I noticed that some of these beings did not seem to be regarded with quite the same intensity of fear and dread that was associated with the ghosts of the dead, although the same word, *urar*, was used. Furthermore, in translating these stories into pidgin-English, the word *maselai* was used in some cases, whereas the pidgin-English term for the ghost of a dead person is *tamboran*. When I inquired into this distinction, my informants were very vague in their replies, insisting that both were *urar*. Then my servant, who was present at the discussion, told me that in the Petats dialect they used different words, *amat* for the spirit of a person who had died, which he gave as the equivalent to the pidgin-English *tamboran*, and *halelehan* for the other spirits who were called in pidgin-English *maselai*. It would seem, therefore, as if there really were two kinds of spirits, one kind consisting of the ghosts of dead persons, and the other of spirits who had never been men, though the distinction is somewhat blurred in the use of the same word for both kinds in the Kurtatchi dialect. Perhaps the natives are not very clear about it themselves, for whenever I asked them to explain what they meant by *urar* I was always told that it was a person who had died a long time ago. Since returning home, I have discovered that the same dual meaning is attached to the word *adaro* at San Cristoval and to the word *akalo* at Ulawa and Mala (Fox, 1924, p. 107), which corroborates the evidence given above.

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Among the spirits which are called *urar* but should perhaps (though I am not certain as to this) not be considered as the ghosts of persons who have died, there are apparently included certain *urar* who, in the form of animals, are associated with individual men or women in a manner rather difficult to define, but constituting a bond which is clearly recognized. Such an individual claims that the *urar*-creature is 'my kinsman' (*boasi*), that it will come at his call, and at his bidding will assist him, or his friends,

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or will desist from harming them. This association is reported with sharks, snakes, and crocodiles, there may be other creatures of which I have no record. Only a few individuals stand in this relationship. They may be either men or women; they are known by their fellow villagers to have influence over the creatures with which they are associated, and are sometimes asked to use this influence upon their *urar*-kinsmen in the public interest, being paid in ceremonial currency for their intervention. Conversely, they will interfere on behalf of their *urar*-kinsmen when occasion arises. A few examples will serve to illustrate this relationship.

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A crocodile was caught in a dam which was set up to catch fish. A man who was kin to the crocodile came and said that it was not to be killed, because it was his kinsman, but must be allowed to go back into the sea. so the fishermen broke their dam and let the water in and the crocodile escaped.

775 776 825 602 539

Some snakes were eating a man who had got lost in the bush belonging to the snake *urar*. A man who was kin to the snakes went to look for the missing man, and when he saw what was happening he called out to the snakes: 'Why are you doing harm to this man? He is not a stranger, he is a friend of mine, you must loose him and go away.' So the snakes let go of the man and went away.[1]

There was a woman who was kin to the *urar* who lived in a certain part of the sea. She asked to be taken in a canoe to visit her kinsmen. The canoe-men did not understand, they thought she wanted to visit her human kinsmen. Ceremonial pudding and other food was prepared, and they set out with the woman, and went straight to this part of the sea. Then the woman said to the men: 'All right, you stop the canoe just here.' So they stopped the canoe. The men said: 'Where do you want to go?' She said: 'Just here,' and pointed straight down into the water. Then the woman took the food and threw it into the sea. All the men looked, the food disappeared, it was lost. Then the woman jumped into the sea. She went down altogether. She had no paint on her hair, and wore no ornaments. The men waited for her, she did not come up. They all cried, they thought she was lost altogether, they were sorry about her. They waited for her a long time, then she came back. She did not come up in the sea, she came up on the shore. She came up with a woman's pack on her back, it was full of pieces of pig she had been given in the place of the *urar*, and they had put paint on her hair

[1] A very similar but more detailed story which I obtained from another village is given in full in my paper in *Folk-lore* (1932, p. 86).

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and given her ornaments. The men took her again into the canoe and went back to the village. All the people of the village came and asked her: 'Where have you been?' She did not want to tell them, but they kept on asking her, they gave her no peace. At last she said: 'If you look behind you, you will see all my kinsmen coming up.' Then all the kinsmen of the woman came up on to the sand near the village. They were all sharks. (Here the teller explained that they were *urar* who had turned into sharks.) Then the woman said to the people of the village: 'All right, you people come to the shore, come and see my kinsmen.' Then they all went to look, then they understood. Then the woman sent all the sharks away again. She said to them: 'All right, you people go back now, I only wanted to show you to all the men who kept asking me about you, they never stopped asking me, but I did not want to talk about it, so I called you all to show you to the men.'

The man who told me this said afterwards: 'This woman was not an *urar*, she was a real person. I have seen the place where it happened; the man belonging to the place, who told me about it, said she was a relative of his, and he used to eat at her house.'

In most of the cases of this kind of association which came under my notice, it had been inherited from some relative belonging to the same clan, and its possessor did not know how it had originated. In one or two instances, however, the connexion between an individual and a shark was traced back to an ancestor who bore a child in the shape of a shark. Togen (a middle-aged man belonging to the village of Timputs, but living at Kurtatchi since his marriage to one of the daughters of the *tsunaun*), after telling me a story concerning a woman who bore a shark-child,[1] added that his own shark was called Muwatskawits, and lived at Timputs: 'My grandmother (*tubunē*, used for an actual grandparent or for any ancestor farther back) bore it a long time ago.' If a shark from another place wants to eat any of Togen's people at Timputs, Muwatskawits chases him away, and says: 'You must not eat my children. I don't want you to come here. If you don't go back I shall kill you.'

It seems a fair inference, from the use of the word *boanē* to describe this relationship, that the creature is considered to be a member of the same clan as that of the individual associated with it (see the discussion of this term on p. 33). I did not find any indications that certain animals were associated only with persons of any given clan, e.g. sharks with Naboin or crocodiles with Nakarib. It seems to be a purely personal association, but in trans-

[1] This story is given in my paper in *Folk-lore* (1932, p. 83).

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ferring the creature to some one else when at the point of death, the individual apparently chooses a relative belonging to the same clan as himself; this would be natural if the shark were thought to have been born to an ancestor, as in the case of Togen just quoted. They appear to be definitely associated with persons rather than with places, and so differ from the 'tutelary sharks' described by Ivens (1927, p. 230, &c.). Neither do they correspond exactly to the 'familiar' as described on Ulawa by Ivens (p. 239) and on San Cristoval by Fox (1924, p. 231), for they do not bear the name of the person who is associated with them neither do they die when the man dies. Ivens makes mention of 'incarnations' of the dead as sharks, swordfish, crocodiles, megapodes, &c. (p. 187), but he does not indicate whether any association with these is claimed by living individuals.

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ASSOCIATION OF *URAR* WITH STONES

As well as the association of *urar* with places, described in previous paragraphs, there is a much more intimate connexion between certain *urar* and particular stones or rocks, the locality and names of which are known to all. The *urar* is not supposed merely to inhabit the stone, or the stone to belong to the *urar*, but the two are completely identified, so that the *urar is* the stone. Associated with many such stones is the belief that at night they again become *urar*, or in some cases human beings, and walk about, or go fishing, or dance.

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Where the origin of the connexion between the *urar* and the stone is given, the *urar* is certainly thought to be the ghost of a person who has died; but as in many cases no explanation of the identification was forthcoming, I am not able to say whether this holds true of all. In illustration of this belief may be cited the following:

Two women died and became *urar*. Their name was Kakenmon. (The name seems to belong to the two of them together.) Two children went looking for hermit crabs in holes; the two *urar* stole the children, and took them away. The father of the two children lit a fire and made smoke to drive the *urar* away. Now they are stones, they are on the beach at Raua, two stones, two women, the name of the two stones is Kakenmon. At night they are *urar*, and play on the shore; when the sun rises they become stones again.

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A man died and was thrown into the sea. His body came to the surface and drifted, and was caught under some mangroves. Some men who

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me no information as to whether it had fallen or whether this was its original position.

These stones represent a man and his wife and their two children. The whole group goes by the name of Tohihiu. They are said to 'belong to' a man living in the village, who is of the Nakarib clan; he was described as their kinsman. When a child is born to a woman who is of his lineage the child's mother brings the baby to the place, a pig is killed and cut up, and the stones are washed with its blood. In the olden days it was customary on these occasions to make a raid into the mountains, bring home a prisoner from one of the mountain villages, eat him, and bring his head to the stones with the child: the head was then buried underneath the stones.[1] Then the women would collect quantities of taro 'belonging to the stones'; this would be eaten at the spot. It did not appear that the stones were themselves thought to eat any of it. Whenever a feast is due to be held to mark some epoch in the life of a child of the appropriate lineage, he is taken to the stones, and when the time comes for his skin to be cicatrized, that is done there also. Not very long before my visit a little boy had undergone this operation at the stones. When I examined them there were still traces upon them of the red paint with which they had been smeared on that occasion. (This is not necessarily to be regarded as a substitute for blood, as it is in itself a sacred substance which plays a part in many ceremonial activities, as described in previous chapters.)

Discussion

It was a matter of great concern to me that I could not get more information concerning these stone pillars. I am convinced that the ignorance professed by the natives was not assumed, and that they would have told me more details had they known any more themselves. The surprise of the Iltopan people when I laid bare the design on the stone 'A Pi' was most certainly genuine. It would seem as though the pillars had been set up in times past in connexion with some ritual that has been abandoned for so long that all memory of it has disappeared.

One of the missionaries told me that he understood from the

[1] A short time before my visit fragments of a human skull had been discovered in the vicinity of the stones during some digging in connexion with a new building for the Mission.

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Term	*Reciprocal*
	7a. munthan
Spouse of *mataha-* (f.s.), i.e. brother's wife	*Mataha-* of spouse (f.s.), i.e. husband's sister
	8. hinas
Child of mother's brother (cross-cousin)	Child of father's sister (cross-cousin)
	9. hâkuis
Parent's female cross-cousin (used in this sense by m. or f.)	Child (m. or f.) of cross-cousin (used in this sense by women only)
10. tûbu-goan : Term of address, *bubu*	*tûtubugui* : Term of address, *bubu*
Mother's parents, father's parents	Child (m. or f.) of son or daughter
11. atsôn : Husband	*hîhin* : Wife
	12. hâlis
Wife's parents	Daughter's husband
	13. hâihis
Husband's parents	Son's wife
	14. sûhan
Parents of child's spouse	
	15. hîaloi
Co-wife	

The terms have been given the same numbers as the corresponding terms at Kurtatchi, for convenience of comparison. It will be seen that the two systems are the same, except that in two cases the Kurtatchi system has economized in terms. In the Petats dialect the sister's son (*3a*) is given a term (*pelukas*) distinct from that applied to the son of a woman's cross-cousin (*hakuis*), and the terms corresponding to our use of brother-in-law and sister-in-law are differentiated according to the sex of the person spoken of as well as according to the sex of the speaker, so that four terms are used instead of the two which suffice at Kurtatchi. These have been numbered *6a* and *7a* in the foregoing list.

The taboos are the same as those at Kurtatchi, in all essentials, though it is possible that some differences in detail may have escaped me, as I

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lived at Petats only for three months. As at Kurtatchi, the most important are those between a man and his wife's mother (*halis*), for which the hood is used, and those between the parents of one member of a married couple and the parents of the other (*suhan*). A slight difference in the keeping of the *halis* taboo is noted on p. 74. The taboos on 'in-laws' of the same generation are the same as at Kurtatchi, except that there is no restriction on the use of names between the two women calling each other *munihan* (brother's wife: husband's sister).

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